535 pretensions to being medicine-men inform their friends that a Kinyago is to be
756 danced at a certain spot on a certain night, and a crowd consequently congregates there. The medicine-men, most of whom in Malindi District apart from Giryama are of Shambala slave origin, make themselves up with the help of clothes stuffed with grass to represent certain wild animals, such as elephants, lions, etc. A ring having been made in the waiting crowd, a medicine-man thus disguised as an animal suddenly dashes from behind a convenient bush and enters the ring, where he capers about and makes a noise in imitation of the beast he represents. On getting tired he retires again behind the convenient bush, and another disguised medicine-man
[533] takes his place in the ring and so on. A *msondo* drum is used, described above (see Ki-Nyasa dance). The crowd takes no part in the performance.

535 The Kinyago is, of course, a heathen dance from Nyasaland imported by
527 slaves. It takes place usually after a good harvest, and is intended more or less as
756 a thanksgiving to the spirits that control the rain and the abundance of food generally. It is also intended by the medicine-men to impress the people with the powers which they ascribe to themselves of being able to change the shape of their bodies into that of any wild animal. But these pretensions are not accorded much credence nowadays in the Malindi District.[1]

1 Ngoma ya Pepo.

776 The Swahili word *pepo* is the equivalent of the Arab word *jin*, or devil or
763 evil spirit. The people inhabiting the coastal zone, both Arabs and Swahilis, believe in the existence of these beings, some of whom are considered harmless while others, entering into the human body, create various ills and pains, insensibility or sometimes a demented state accompanied by violent gestures. It is quite evident, even to a layman, that these ills are due to a disturbance of the nervous system of imaginative and highly-strung individuals. Thus one finds that the great majority of the people who get *pepo* are women.

753 The native cure for *pepo* is principally drumming. The natives of Africa
533 are particularly sensitive to rhythm, pure and simple, even more so perhaps than Europeans. The rhythm of certain kinds of drumming has the effect of exciting the nerves to an ecstatic degree, while other rhythms appear to have the contrary effect upon the nervous system of Africans. It is the latter rhythms that are used as a cure for *pepo*.

This physiological effect of rhythmic drumming is, however, unknown to the inhabitants of the coastal zone, and believing as they do, that the nervous disturbance known as *pepo* is caused by the presence of evil spirits in the body, they set about propitiating the *jin* and putting him in a good temper by giving a drumming

[1] This reminds one of some of the corn dances recorded by Sir J. G. Frazer in *The Golden Bough*; and by Professor Ridgway in his *Dramas and Dramatic Dances of Non-European Races* (1915), pp. 335–374.

1 [SEE NOTE ON P. 434 -- ANALYST.]

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entertainment in his honour, so as to induce him to depart from the body of the person possessed.

The exorcising of the *pepo* is conducted by a professional man or elderly woman known as a *fundi* or *mganga* who specializes in certain kinds of *pepo*.

The *pepo* themselves are divided into various tribes such as the *pepo ya ki-galla*, *pepo ya ki-arabu*, *pepo ya ki-somali*, *pepo ya ki-shakini*, *pepo ya i-pemba*, *pepo ya ki-nubi*, etc., and some even are said to be like animals, such as the *pepo ya ng'ombe* and the *pepo ya punda*. Besides belonging to various tribes, the *pepo* have individual names similar to those common to human beings of the same tribe. Thus some *pepo ya ki-galla* are known as Guyo, Barsa, Godana, Galgalo, all of which are fairly common amongst the Gallas on the Tana River.

The *pepo* is recognised by the language it speaks through the lips of the person possessed. The *fundis* make out that the language spoken is actually Galla, Somali, Arabic, etc., but that it is an ancient form of these languages, and that no one can understand them but the *fundis* themselves. This, of course, is nonsense, as it is impossible for a person ignorant of a language to speak it suddenly and quite fluently. What actually happens is that the person possessed speaks ordinary Swahili,[1] but being in a state of high nervous tension the voice assumes an unnatural pitch, and the words are spoken indistinctly and interlarded with inarticulate sounds, so that they may be said to assume, with a stretch of imagination, either an Arab, a Somali, or any other accent, and, together with the inarticulate sounds uttered, are interpreted by the "*fundi*" as being ancient Arabic or ancient Somali, or some other ancient language.[2]

Each *fundi* has his own special set of *pepo* whom he knows by name, and to him only will such *pepo* respond. If a *fundi* is called in to attend to a possessed person, and is unable to make the *pepo* speak to him through the lips of the patient, then he knows that the *pepo* in question is not one of his set, but is a client of some other *fundi*. He then withdraws from the case, and suggests to the relations of the patient that such or such *fundi* be called in.

The first step in the treatment of a possessed person is to get the *pepo* to "come into the head" of the patient and speak to the *fundi*, the object of this being to find out from the *pepo* what would be acceptable to him as an offering in order to induce him to depart from the body of the possessed person.

The method of making the *pepo* speak is by administering *dawa*, or native medicine. The various tribes of *pepo* respond each to its particular kind of *dawa*, which in most cases consists of a decoction of roots mixed with leaves of plants found in the bush, and sometimes fresh seaweed. Each *fundi* has, of course, his own secret prescription. The mixture of roots and leaves is placed in a

[1] This is not certain.—C. W. H.

[2] For possession by spirits of other tribes, see Junod, *Les Baronga*, pp. 440, 441.

753 766 756 776 pot and made to boil. The patient is made to sit close up to the pot, or, if possible, over it, and is then entirely covered with a sheet in such a manner as to allow as little as possible of the vapour from the pot to escape. This is practically a Turkish bath, the effect on the patient being naturally a soothing one, and on leading questions being put to the patient by the *fundi*, the *pepo* will state through the mouth of the sick person who he is and how many days' drumming he would like in order to induce him to depart and leave the patient in peace. This method of applying native medicine is used to make the *pepo* of almost all the heathen tribes respond to the *fundi*, provided, of course, that the *fundi* is the right man for that particular *pepo*, and provided the right decoction of roots and leaves is used.

If the *fundi* called in has a suspicion that the *pepo* he has to deal with belongs to a Moslem tribe, such as Arab, Somali, or Nubi, he does not employ the Turkish bath method in order to induce him to speak, but makes a mixture of camphor, musk, and saffron, with a little water, and writes with it on a plate the various attributes of Allah. By means of a little more of the mixture, the writing is carefully washed off the plate into a cup, and is given to the patient to drink. The camphor has a soothing effect, and the *pepo* then states who he is and what he wants as a propitiation.

The *fundi*, having recognised the *pepo* as one of his set, now comes to an agreement with the relations of the sick person as to the amount of the fees to be given to him. These vary according to the financial position of the relations, but generally range from 5Rs. to 10Rs. Much higher fees are sometimes given, however, and the total expenses, including the cost of the food for the *fundi*, the drummers, and the guests have been known to amount to 300Rs. The *fundi's* fees are paid after he has succeeded in getting rid of the *pepo*.

The drumming and dancing invariably take place indoors, except on the last day when the patient is practically cured, and then the dancing goes on outside the house.

The various kinds of *pepo* believed to seize people in Malindi are :—

Pepo ya ki-galla
Pepo ya ki-sanya
Pepo ya ki-shakini
Pepo ya ki-rima
Pepo ya ki-nyika
Pepo ya ki-pemba
Pepo ya ki-habshi
Pepo ya ki-arabu
Pepo ya ki-somali
Pepo ya ki-nubi
Pepo ya Ng'ombe
Pepo ya Punda

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pepo so desires, and the same ceremony is gone through as for the *pepo ya ki-galla*.

The songs of praise of the *pepo ya ki-shakini* sung in Malindi amount to about twenty-five.

Some names of *pepos* of the Shakini tribe known here are, Shinga Kamba wa Goshi, Hotea, Shingwa Rambo wa Seraf, Giwa wa Mwenne Panganga Waso wa Jentangu.

The same drums and cymbals are used as in the *pepo ya ki-galla* dance.

PEPO YA KI-RIMA.

The origin of these *pepo*, as their name indicates, is of course well known, but their introduction to the Malindi District dates only to nineteen years back.

The ceremonial followed is the same as that of the *pepo ya ki-galla*, and of the *pepo ya ki-shakini*. The head-dress is, however, different, and consists of what is called a *shumburere*, which is of exactly the same shape as a Mexican hat with a tall conical crown and a very wide brim. It is woven from the split fronds of the dom palm or the *mkindu* palm, the wild date. From the outer edge of the brim is suspended a fringe composed of strips of coloured cloth which hang down to the pit of the stomach in front, and to the same level at the back. The head and face of the patient are consequently completely hidden.

As in the Shakini *pepo* dance, the dancers follow each other round and round in a direction opposite to the hands of the clock, and perform the same steps and antics as in the *pepo ya ki-shakini*. The patient also waves in the same manner a fly-switch made out of the tail of a mule or giraffe.

The patient is anointed with castor oil as soon as he shows signs by jerks and twitches that he is about to begin to dance.

The *torosi* breast-plate and back-plate of leather are also worn by the patient in this dance, and a male goat is produced if so required by the *pepo*, and is ridden and danced round in the same manner as described in the *pepo ya ki-galla*.

There are some forty songs known in Malindi sung in praise of the *pepo ya ki-rima*.

Some names of these *pepo* known here are, Lairan wa Laitua, Laitoni wa Laimoran, Lukwalla wa Lugawane. They remind one of Nandi or Masai names.

The same drums are used as in the *pepo ya ki-galla* dance.

PEPO YA KI-NYIKA.

This is considered a benign form of *pepo* who does not cause the patient any great pain or ill, nothing more serious than a headache or a cough, which do not incapacitate the person possessed.

Native medicine is not usually given in order to make the spirit speak and say who he is and what he wants. He is generally recognised by the ache or pain he

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causes to the patient, and he is not exacting in his requirements of propitiation. Generally two or three days' dancing will satisfy him together with a large supply of boiled mealie-meal served with grilled fowl or goat. Sometimes as a special treat some *kunde* beans are mixed with the meal. This is given as a farewell dinner to the *pepo* after the dancing is finished. All the guests partake of it as well as the patient.

The dancing begins about 9 a.m., and lasts about an hour and a half. The patient then goes about his work as usual. In the evening the dancers reassemble and dance through the night with the patient. A line is formed, and one dancer at a time advances to where the drums are being played, jerks his shoulders about while bending over one of the drums for a few minutes, then suddenly stamping his foot he retires with a shuffling step back to his place in the line and another dancer goes forward and repeats the performance, and so on. The patient dances with the others, but is distinguished by having a fly-switch in one hand and a live fowl in the other, both of which he waves about.

The patient is dressed in two new dark blue cotton cloths (*kaniki*), worn as a Swahili woman wears her *leso*. No head-dress is worn. On the second day of the dance, if the patient is a woman, she exchanges her two dark blue cloths for a kilt such as the Nyika women wear.

During the dancing, the patient goes occasionally to a pot of cold water in which leaves of wild trees believed to have certain properties have been pounded and mixed up. He puts both hands into the pot and raises some of the liquid to his mouth and drinks. Having quenched his thirst he throws some of the liquid over each shoulder on to his back, and also pours some on his chest as if he were taking a bath.

At the end of the dance on the third day a meal is partaken of as stated above and the *pepo* departs.

The names of *pepo ya ki-nyika* known in Malindi are without number, and are similar to ordinary names at present heard amongst the various Nyika tribes. The songs of praise sung in honour of these *pepo* in Malindi are also numberless.

The same drums are used as in the *pepo ya ki-galla* dance.

PEPO YA KI-PEMBA.

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As their name indicates, these "*pepo*" are supposed to come from the island of Pemba.

In order to make the *pepo* declare himself, the usual native medicine and Turkish bath are given. The patient is then dressed in two white cloths after the fashion of the *pepo ya ki-galla*. He is placed on a stool, and as soon as the drumming begins he sways his body about in time to it, and ultimately jerks the stool which he sits on round the room. A *zumari* or clarionet (described in the Sheiha dance) is also played to the accompaniment of the drums. This jerking about on the stool goes on for seven days, and on the eighth day matting is laid on the floor. The

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302 Women, according to a visitor from that locality, have no special hair customs in Hadhramaut other than shaving round the temple to show as wide an expanse of forehead as possible.

EXORCISM, SPIRITS, JINNS, SACRIFICES.[1]

[771] The mountaineers, although normally belonging to the *Shafi* sect of Islam, are full of pagan
754 cults which excite the ire of the orthodox Moslem visitor. I have already in my paper under
755 reference explained the details of Ra'aba Hamra spirit exorcism and snake-bite cure—the
752 imprecations in the Shahara tongue of the mountains, the raising and lowering of bodies, the spitting on the wound. At Shisur I noticed that the proceedings were terminated by a rifle fired into the air. That, however, is the procedure for the "Evil Eye," so here this bravery was dispensed with. The cure did not work, however, and was followed by another next day. This, called Habil, was a kind of divination and propitiation. The practitioner, rope in hand, sat about three paces from his patient. A third party was called to hold the end of the rope. Taking an arbitrary length of it with the thumb and forefinger of one hand, the practitioner measured the outstretched length of it with his disengaged arm by means of forearm's length, hand span and finger breadth. The operation he repeated three times, each occasion preceded by a pause to bend his head low over the rope and shake his head, making a curious burbling noise with his lips, and to take a handful of sand which he sprinkled up and down the rope. In conclusion he looked up at his patient and gave him the following remedy: "at sunset take so many dates and so much *samn* (butter) and go and cast it away upon the sands."

754 These mountain tribes are much afraid of the Evil Eye, not only for themselves, but equally
755 for their flocks and herds. The ceasing of lactation is invariably ascribed to *Ain Balis*. The cure is frankincense. I witnessed the ceremony on occasion and made a cinema film of it, though it is usually performed at sunrise or at sunset. The incense burner was brought and wood introduced and lighted. The practitioner, the cow-owner, broke a fragment of frankincense about the size of a walnut into three pieces. Then spitting upon it three times he introduced it into the burner. While two other witnesses held the afflicted animal by head and leg respectively, he waved about its head the burning frankincense, chanting a set sacrificial chant.

782 For human sickness a cow or a sheep is sacrificed, the blood being sprinkled over the patient's shoulders and breasts when the sun is high overhead; the animal must be female. For sacrifices at human deaths, male and female animals are alike held virtuous.

●753 A Sayid met me in the mountains and asked me whether I knew of anything to pacify
776 *Afarit*. His wife had had a series of miscarriages. *Afarit* were the cause. There are many evil spirits—*Afarit*, *jinns*, *jinnyat* and *Zars*. *Zars*[2] are the most accommodating, *jinns* sometimes yield, but *Afarit*—they are Allah's worst affliction.

782 The sacrifice of animals in case of death varies with the importance and wealth of the
556 deceased. In small and average estates one half of his cows are sacrificed. In big estates

[1] Detailed descriptions will be found in my *Arabia Felix* (Jonathan Cape, 1932).

[2] A detailed description of the "Zar" cult as practised in Oman is given in my *Alarms and Excursions in Arabia* (Allen and Unwin, 1931).

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on a hill. Whilst we photograph, survey and sketch, we feel as if our narrow standing-place were swaying gently to and fro. It is unpleasant to contemplate that we are so high above the level of the ground, standing on a slender tower made of almost nothing but dried mud.

5. SMALL RUINS OUTSIDE TERĪM.

In the evening, during the family motor drive, when the el-Kāfs and their set ride in slow procession through the gardens of Terīm and the baked plains of stone that lie outside it, a hill in the midst of Wādī ʿĒdīd is pointed out to us, which is said to have associations dating from the ʿĀd epoch. From a certain distance an old, paved high road is clearly visible, leading to the summit of the hill, where a temple must have stood. Only loose stones with mortar between them are now to be seen on the hill; at its base there are the remains of foundations of buildings, which seem to point to a guest-house with many small rooms. For the people of Terīm these ruins have an odour of sanctity; a similar hill, close by, is used by childless women as a place of worship, where they have to perform certain nocturnal rites by means of which they hope to have children.

6. A WALK THROUGH THE TOWN.

On the following day, May 28th, we go with the doctor to see his house and clinic. This pioneer of western medical science has no easy time here; the people still cling to their own ideas as to the functions of the human body and the causes of illness. They think that there are three chief causes of sickness, namely *riyāḥ* (gasses in the blood), *burūda* (cold), and *ḥarāra* (heat). They say of foods that they make the body cold or hot, or cause or disperse flatulence. Even the men of standing talk about their ailments in this terminology

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753 and our doctor has had to adapt himself temporarily to it and
758 to fixed wishes regarding diet, in anticipation of the growth of better understanding and more trust. The result of his work as the first and only doctor in all Ḥaḍramaut is not as great as one would expect. Sayyid Abū Bakr himself is not yet sufficiently convinced of the value of western medical art to allow the never ending outlay on medicines and instruments for the expert help of the doctor. The first nurse in Terīm was an Arab from one of the African coast towns, who missed his cinema and café so much that he speedily fled from the place of banishment, to return to the towns where he could enjoy the blessings of western civilization. Thus the doctor has all the work again on his own hands.

743 An enormous mud building has been placed at his disposal. In it he lives, has his pharmacy, the polyclinic and the beginnings of an operating-room. Further, one of the young el-Kāfs, who was assistant to an Egyptian dentist who formerly worked here for some months, has a room where, equipped with modern instruments, he practises dentistry.

164 According to the doctor, Ḥaḍramaut seems to be a healthy country. Among the lower classes there is, however, a good deal of eye disease, and it is also true that malaria makes its appearance in the autumn. What will be the eventual outcome of this beginning of medical help will depend on the tact and devotion and staying-power of the young doctor.

312 After this we go with the doctor on a walking tour to see the sights of the town of Terīm. First of all, naturally, we visit the remains of old Terīm, on the borders of the residential area of the town; it consists of a bare low hill on whose top stand the ruins of the once great and mighty castle. There are always wells for drinking-water in castles of this kind. These wells are very deep as they are in the inner courtyard of the castles and are, consequently, dug from the summit of the hill. From this ruined castle one had a good view over
346 Terīm so rich in mosques, palaces and ... graves. The popular report in Ḥaḍramaut is that the town possesses 360 mos-

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there was also no large supply of fodder; we could only buy thirty bundles of dried *dhura* stalks, which cost us one *riyāl*. The *riyāl* seemed to be the only coin in use; for a half *riyāl* one could buy nothing. Our help was asked for a sick camel which, we were told, had been bitten by a snake. The local camel doctor had smeared the animal with a black salve and had cut off half of its ears. A sick man, who was obviously suffering from elephantiasis, told us that he had been hissed at by a snake. With regret we had to explain that we travelled without our medicine-chest and were unprovided with means for helping against the dangerous snakes of the country.

3. ʿRĒDET ED-DEYYIN.

We went on our way very soon, in the hope of reaching er-Rēda, the central point of the settlements of the Deyyin Bedouins, that evening. There lives the chief whose acquaintance we had made at Bā Ṣurra's castle. It was long after sundown when we approached Shēkh ʿUthmān's village, Nedjēdēn. We stumbled on through the darkness, following the camels, till we came to cultivated land with a few dried-up *nibq* trees dotted about here and there. The village showed no sign of a friendly, inviting light; the fortress-like houses resembled nothing but black cubes. Directly the watch-dogs heard us they proceeded to attack us, barking furiously, and this noise roused life in the houses: first there were questioning voices and then a few lights. We kept the dogs at bay with stones and, aided by information proceeding from the closed houses, found our way to Shēkh ʿUthmān's dwelling, which was a miserable-looking, low building with nothing attractive about it. We awakened the inhabitants by our shouts and, with distrustful aversion, they admitted us to a large room with an earthen floor where we sat down on our travelling rugs. Our hopes of a speedy sleep after this very tiring day